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THE ZUÑI A'DOSHLĒ AND SUUKĒ

BY ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

OF that docility of the Pueblo child, so striking even to the least observant, the discipline of fear, I had often surmised, was an important factor, fear not so much of their elders *per se*—the Pueblo elder punishes very infrequently—as fear of the unknown or the supernatural inspired by their elders. Once at Cochiti I had seen a three year old child bury his head in his mother's lap, panic-stricken at the hoot of the owl she had imitated. She was mimicking for my benefit, for I had asked her what a mother would do to scare her child into being good. That the owl will kidnap a refractory or a crying child, or, the more common version, that the owl will pick out its eyes is, I have been at some pains to make sure, a widespread Pueblo threat.¹ The child is also threatened with the coyote. At Sia I once saw a mother terrify a little fellow in the conventional white American style by pretending to give him over to the Santa Clara visitor who was on the point of leaving her house. "The Navajo will get you," was the warning once popular in Zuñi. Nowadays, it is the snakes who attack a straying child. "You will come home with snakes hanging to your legs,"² I overheard a Zuñi mother declare to her adventure-

¹ Boas has noted it too in the Northwest. The Bear clan of the Nisk'a' of the Nass River, British Columbia, have a tradition that once a chief, impatient with his cry-baby son, sent him out of doors, saying, 'The white owl shall fetch you.' The boy's sister went out with him and it was she the owl carried off, taking her to a high tree to marry her. There is an owl headdress to commemorate this tradition. ("Fifth Rep. on the Indians of British Columbia," *Rep. of the Brit. Assn. for the Adv. of Sc.*, 1895). Scare owls of sumac were actually made by the Navajo and hung up in the evening to a beam of the hogan to subdue insubordinate children. "The fancy of a child might be easily led to believe that the owl sitting there should carry it off." (*An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, p. 495. The Franciscan Fathers, Saint Michaels, Arizona.)

² The Caddo in Oklahoma tell their children that Snake-Woman, the giver of all their seeds, has said that until the seeds are ripe they belong to her. None, especially children, may touch or even point to them as they grow. If one did, Snake-Woman would send a poisonous snake to bite him. (Dorsey, G. A., *Traditions of the Caddo*, p. 18, Washington, 1905.)

some six year old, the same youngster who the year before had burst into a howl one night over the story of Koluwitsi and the Zuñi maiden he had embraced in his coils. That such alarming tales are told without restraint in the presence of young children, that for their benefit their elders' overwhelming dread of witchcraft is never covert,¹ these circumstances must also be influential in increasing childish apprehensiveness.

But it is to the adoption at Zuñi of a more deliberate method of the use of fear as a discipline of childhood I wish to draw attention, to the dependence of the elders upon masks whose special function is that of terrifying the younger children. These disciplinary figures are in use I believe in the Rio Grande pueblos and among the Hopi. The disciplinary activities of the Cooyoktu katchinas during the Powamu ceremony² are markedly analogous to those of the *a'doshlě* and *suukě* at Zuñi. At various times I have heard Santa Clara and Cochiti Indians refer to scaring children by such a figure. Harrington refers to him as *tsabijc*, a divine personator who "goes about on certain occasions whipping the children of the village." Harrington adds that he is always called *t'ete*, grandfather.³ In this connection the derivation of the word *a'doshlě* is of considerable interest. It is, I believe,⁴ from the plural prefix *a* and *doshle*, an age class term meaning very old, older than a grandfather. This term is used by the Zuñi only in referring to the gods, that is, it is obsolete except as preserved in sacerdotal

¹ In Zuñi children are deliberately threatened too with the witch, the *halikwe*. A very intelligent and enterprising twelve-year-old girl, my companion at night under the stars, would never climb the ladder to the roof before I did—she was too afraid of the witches. One night we heard young men singing as they took some horses to pasture. "They are singing to keep off the witches," remarked my young friend. I recalled that a Santa Clara man with whom I once took an interpuerto riding trip used to sing when he rode ahead of me after dark. It struck me at the time as odd for he was a dour and rather melancholy man and he never sang in the daytime. Among the Navajo singing is recommended to those riding alone after dark. (*An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, pp. 507-511. The Franciscan Fathers. Saint Michaels, Ariz. 1910.)

² Voth, H. R. "The Oraibi Pawamu Cremony," p. 118. *Field Columbian Museum, Anthropol. Ser.*, Vol. III, No. 2, Chicago, 1901; Fewkes, J. W. "Hopi Katchinas," *21st Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*, pp. 35, 39, 71, 72, 74, 75.

³ "Tewa Relationship Terms," *American Anthropologist*, N. S., 14 (1912), p. 480.

⁴ It was Dr. Kroeber who suggested to me the derivation.

usage. I first noted it among the terms of relationship exchanged in the rite of "smoking" the *sha'lako*.

The six *a'Doshlē* and their wives, the six *suukē* and theirs all belong to the company of the gods, to the *ko'ko*. They all¹ came from the region of the Sacred Lake, from *ko'luwala*, and back to *ko'luwala* the *a'Doshlē* returned with the other *ko'ko*, thereafter to be impersonated only at Zuñi, but the *suukē* did not return, they took up their residence in the mesas. There, the special function of the *suukē* appears to be the protection of the peach orchards at the base of the mesas against child raiders.² The *suukē* who lives at To'wa ya'lenē is said to throw the sack of a poacher on top of a tree, having emptied the stolen peaches into the basket he himself carries. Formerly the *suukē* were much wilder and carried off the children themselves in their baskets. The *suukē* are personated too at Zuñi, but they appear to be far less conspicuous or interest-inspiring than the *a'Doshlē*. What is said of the *a'Doshlē* applies also, I was told, to the *suukē*, but in my talks with both the children and their seniors it was almost always the *a'Doshlē* who was mentioned.³

The *a'Doshlē* and his wife—I shall speak of them as a single pair for although a couple is attached to each *kiwitsine* no more than one couple ever appears on any occasion—the couple both wear masks. They are white, "spotted" black. (The mask of the *suukē* is black, "spotted" white). The hair falls loose at the sides and over the face of the mask. The hair of the *a'Doshlē* is black, that of his "old woman" white. Both masks have bulging

¹ Of the particularized origin of the *a'Doshlē* or *suukē* there seems to be no account.

² A comparatively modern function, since peaches are a Spanish importation. Adults will steal peaches, too, I am told. From several observations in Zuñi I infer that modern forms of property are far more subject to theft than antique forms.

³ One Americanized, sophisticated woman did not know about the *suukē* at all. Her father did, however; but even after he had spoken of the sometime wild spirits of the mesas his daughter continued to insist to me that the term *suukē* must be Hopi.

Since writing the above I find there is a valid ground for the confusion of my sophisticated Zuñi friend. Dr. Fewkes is similarly confused. Identifying the Soyok Katcinas of Tusayan with the *a'Doshlē* of Zuñi and opining that they are an importation among the Hopi from the eastern pueblos he states that "Atocle at Zuñi is sometimes called Soyok." ("Hopi Katcinas," pp. 71, n.a.). See photograph of the Soyokmana, pl. CVI in *15th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn.* (1893-4).

eyes and long protuberant, tusklike teeth. The *a'doshlě* wears a deer skin around his loins, a "lion" skin over his shoulders, and a coyote skin to hold on his mask, around his neck. His body is spotted white and two snakes are painted in white on his chest. On his feet are the regular blue and orange dance moccasins, and on his right calf the regular tortoise and antelope toes rattle. He carries a large knife, and one of his terrifying gestures is to sweep back the hair from his mask with his knife. He also carries a bow and arrows and some eagle feathers. The "old woman" (personated by a man) wears the regular buckskin leggings, and the old style Zuñi dress, leaving the arms and right shoulder bare. Her mask is attached to a piece of black cloth around her neck. Formerly in place of the cloth were worn rabbit skins. In her hair is an eagle feather dyed red. On her back is a large basket, the conical *huchapone*, and in it a brush of twigs. She too carries eagle feathers, also a crook.¹

The *a'doshlě* and the *suukě* figure in but one² of the dances,³

¹ Since writing this account of the *a'doshlě* I have been again in Zuñi, and on this visit I succeeded in seeing the mask. It was however not the *a'doshlě* proper, but the *mu a'doshlě*, that is the Hopi make-up. My notes for the most part merely supplement the description previously given me. The white mask is a circular affair enclosing completely the head and face, the hair attached only to the crown. The black spots are about the size of a dime. The separately attached eye bulbs are painted in circles of whitish-yellow, red, whitish-yellow, black. I also noted that the lower arms were painted dark brown with black spots; that strands of yucca were tied around the wrists; that two stiff eagle feathers and some downy were bunched in the hair; that the buckskin skirt was fastened by the regulation dance belt with the regulation fox skin at the back; and that instead of an arrow a piece of yucca and a twig of spruce were carried in the left hand. The knife in his right hand was about 18 inches long, a rusty steel blade. Formerly, according to Mrs. Stevenson ("The Zuñi Indians," 23rd Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 228, 229, 1901-2), it was a stone knife. The chief departure from my previous account is in regard to the mouth. There were no tusks and the rather inconspicuous mouth was set in the coyote fur collar. I believe that this differentiated mouth is the chief characterization of the *mu a'doshlě*.

On this occasion the old woman *a'doshlě* did not appear.

² Dr. Fewkes describes ("A Few Summer Ceremonials at Zuñi Pueblo," pp. 41-2, Jour. Amer. Ethn. and Archaeology, I (1891)) the Hay-a-ma-she-que dance of July 30, 1890, and in it the appearance of the *Ar-toish-ley*, as he writes the name, "the old scold." Except that her tousled hair is gray and that she is barefoot, her ankles ringed with cedar twigs, her get-up corresponds to the picture I have given of the *a'doshlě*'s "old woman" or, rather, if we go by Dr. Fewkes' photograph-drawn cut, representing the mask as black with white spots, of the female companion of the *suukě*.

the *wa'templa*¹ or "All herds," late winter and early spring dances.² The function of this dance or of part of it is referred to as *awek uwanaga*, "wipe the earth" a purifactory ceremonial, I infer from the accounts I got. After the morning dance, the *a'Doshlë* accompanied by his "old woman" and by two or more *ko'yemshi*, those inevitable caretakers of the *ko'ko*, the *a'Doshlë* party sets forth on a

On December 18, 1915, I too saw the *a'Doshlë* dancing with the *hemoshikwe* set of dancers at the conclusion of the *sha'lako* ceremonial. At this time the *wa'templa* dance is performed by the *ohewa kiwitsine*, the *hemoshikwe* dance by the *heiwa kiwitsine*. A member of the Zuni family group I was visiting being a member of the *ohewa kiwitsine*, undertook to get some one from that *kiwitsine* to represent *a'Doshlë* in the *wa'templa* dance, I to present him with some tobacco. None would volunteer—"the young men don't like to play the part of such a hideous old fellow." The personator who eventually did appear was of the *heiwa kiwitsine*. The part of *a'Doshlë*, I believe, was not new to him. He came out of the *heiwa sha'lako* house and went through the village on the morning of December 16 not appearing again until the morning of December 18 when he danced with his own *kiwitsine* group rather than with the group to whom he theoretically belonged, the *wa'templa*.

³ Of interest is their appearance in two tales reported by Cushing, "The Coyote who killed the Demon Siuiuki and A'tahsaia, the Cannibal Demon." (*Zuñi Folk Tales*, New York, 1901.) The Siuiuki lives on the edge of To'wa Yäl'lone, lying in wait for hunters to eat them up. He is spotted or speckled. He carries a knife. A'tahsaia is also speckled—with scales of black and white and never was he seen without his great flint knife with which he *poked his hair back*, so that it was covered with the blood of those he slaughtered. (A light on the gesture which somewhat to my surprise I found so emphasized.) A'tahsaia's eyes popped out of his head like skinned onions, and out of his enormous mouth stuck crooked yellow fangs. He carried a bow, and over his shoulders he wore whole skins of the mountain lion and the bear. He devoured men and women for his meat and children for his sweetbread. He too lived in a mesa cave.

In Navajo legends big gray gods, cannibals, prey upon children. These gods are now given the rôle of clowns and dunces in the dances. (*An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, p. 495.)

Have we here as well as in the case of the *a'Doshlë* the beginning of the demotion of a supernatural figure to a nursery status, a Saint Nicholas become Santa Claus?

¹ The picture given by Mrs. Stevenson of this dance ("The Zuñi Indians," pl. LXIX) is a picture not of the real dance, a very reliable Zuñi pointed out to me, but of a burlesque, one of the burlesques the Zuñi are so fond of. Nor is it the function of the *a'Doshlë*, "the angry gods" as Mrs. Stevenson calls them, to make any announcement about the return of the *ko'ko*. Cp. "The Zuñi Indians," p. 140.

The Hopi Cooyoktu Katcinas belong, we may note, to the so-called "Ichiwoti" or Angry Katcinas. (Voth, p. 118.)

² The Hopi Powanu ceremony also occurs at this season. It appears to be a preparatory or purifactory ceremonial. There is a like character to the Zuñi *wa'templa* ceremonial. May it not be that in both ceremonials, the children as well as natural conditions are to be prepared to turn over a new leaf?

round of house-to-house visits lasting until sundown.¹ Any child the party encounters they may chase—one little friend pointed out to me the corral she had once hidden in away from them—but the *a'doshlĚ* is supposed to visit in particular the houses where bad children live. If required, he will continue his rounds a second or a third day, and at any time during the year, if he is sent for, he will come.

Nevertheless, whether sent for or desired by the elders, when the *a'DoshlĚ* and his party are seen approaching their house the grown-ups pretend to scare the visitors away. They beat drums and tin pans and even take to guns, one informant added. Three times the *a'DoshlĚ* and his cortège advance upon the house and three times they retreat. On their fourth approach they are let in, just as we might expect, knowing how obsessive of the Zuñi mind is the numeral four. Inside, in a slow, high-pitched voice, loud enough to be heard all over the village, all proceed to berate and lecture the terrified and often wailing children. The children who have not yet been initiated, children under seven or eight, are terribly frightened and even the older children may be upset.² "You must not mock your parents," all are instructed, "you must mind your mother." "You must not soil the floor after it has been swept up." A boy is told he must learn to look after the horses, a girl that she must look after the baby, she must learn to cook and to grind. And then the "old woman" may catch the little girl's ankles in her crook and drag her over to the grinding stone, pretending to be about to grind her up. Throwing his hair back from over his mask with his knife, the *a'DoshlĚ* himself may threaten to cut off the

¹ Mrs. Stevenson describes such a round of visits taking place before *sha'lako*, i. e., in late November or early December. (*The Zuñi Indians*, p. 229.) In 1915 the *a'DoshlĚ* did not "come out" at this time. During the last week of January, 1916, he was "out" twice.

² But the skeptical spirit grows. My little twelve-year-old friend showed me the house where she knew the man who played *a'DoshlĚ* lived. It was the same house he came out of, by the way, when I saw him on a later visit. An older "informant" told me that even in her childhood when the *a'DoshlĚ* was sent for because the girls would disobey and ride wild on the burros, her playmates said to one another that the *a'DoshlĚ* didn't really know what they were up to, they knew only what they had been told by parents.

children's ears. If a boy has rebelled against having the lice taken out of his hair by his mother, the "old woman" will apply her brush and the *a'doshlē* will pretend to eat the lice brushed to the ground. If it is cleaning his face a boy has neglected, the *ko'yemshi* may take him down to the river and, cutting a hole in the ice, wash his face for him or, if so minded, souse him altogether¹ that he may not forget in the future to wash his face early every morning in the river as all well-behaved Zuñi lads are expected to do. From his *ko'yemshi* captors the boy knows very well he cannot run away—to keep the children from running away is one of the reasons the *ko'yemshi* accompany the *a'doshlē*.

But a child may himself be carried away—there is always that standing threat—carried off in the old woman's basket, carried off to *ko'luwala* to be eaten up. In the ancient days children were indeed carried off there, old as well as young believe.² At present the act of cannibalism is in pantomime. Perhaps the *a'doshlē* will pretend to take a bite out of the neck of some adult in the family.³

In connection with this ceremonial or buffoon cannibalism, we may note that the *suukē* is referred to as more voracious than his *a'doshlē* counterpart. He eats things whole. He would swallow a child in one gulp. He also eats "whatever is dry," dry bread, dry meat, etc. According to one informant, whenever a child was particularly refractory it was this devourer who was sent for.

Not only in the cannibal make-believe do the adults in the household lend themselves to the devices of the *a'doshlē*: they help in the "talking to" he administers the children by asking him to lecture the older ones too. The better to convince the children, a woman would complain to the *a'doshlē* that one of the men in the family was lazy, that he failed to go to the fields or to bring in the

¹ Cp. Stevenson, p. 229.

² Evidence of child sacrifice is not wanting in Zuñi. It figures in several traditions. It is said to have figured in one of the ceremonials within the past century. The bewitching of people through their children, perhaps even the practice of dedicating the sick to fraternities, also form complexes of associated ideas and feelings. I hope to give the whole subject further study.

³ But only a few weeks before my visit, I was told, the *a'doshlē* really did bite a child in the neck.

wood.¹ Then, when it is time for the *a'doshlĚ* to leave, the elders give them presents of bread and meat, presents the attendant *ko'yemshi* take in charge. The elders also sprinkle on the heads of all, upon *ko'yemshi* as well as upon the *a'doshlĚ* pair, the sacred meal.²

In the one domiciliary visitation I have witnessed since writing the foregoing several of the features were observed and several omitted. Owing to the special circumstances of the case (see p. 341, ft. 2) the *a'doshlĚ* was unaccompanied by his "old woman" or by the *ko'yemshi*. He ran up against the house door twice only, striking it with his knife. In the house were three children, a baby asleep, a boy of three, a girl of four, and six adults. All but the infant and one man who was probably a visitor took part in the

¹ Mrs. Stevenson describes the complaint of adult against adult as made in earnest. (*The Zuñi Indians*, p. 229.)

² A comparison with Voth's account of the domiciliary visitations of the Oraibi Cooyoktu will be of interest. Of these Cooyoktu "there are generally four: The Cooyoktu Pawaamu (elder brother of the Cooyokos) the Coooyoktu Tahaamu (uncle, mother's side, of which there are two) and the Cooyok Wuhti (woman). These are accompanied by two Hehea Katcinas.

"These Cooyoktu are very much dreaded by the children of the village. When a child is naughty or disobedient, the parents or relatives threaten that they will recall these monsters, who will come and get it. On these occasions, when the latter are in the village, these threats are often carried out, and the conversation that occurs when they come to a house where a child is to be frightened into good behavior is usually about as follows: The Cooyoktu Pawaamu approaches the child and says: 'You are naughty and bad, we have come to get you. You fight the other children, kill chickens (or other similar misdeeds are mentioned), and we shall now take you away and roast and eat you.' The Cooyok Wuhti chimes in and repeats the charges and the threats. The child begins to cry and to promise good behavior, but the Katcinas refuse to relent. 'Of course, you will be bad again, we do not believe you,' and the woman begins to reach after the child with her crook. The latter screams and begins to offer presents, usually meat if it is a boy, sweet corn-meal if it is a girl. The Pawaamu pretends to take the present but grabs the child's arm instead. The pleadings and promises to be better are renewed and finally the two Katcinas say that if the two Tahaamu are willing to accept the presents, they will relent this time. The latter declare themselves satisfied, the meat is put into the *hoapu* (basket) carried by the woman, the meal into sacks carried by the two Hehea Katcinas, and with many admonitions and threats to certainly take the little sinners if they hear of further complaints, the party moves on to another place, where the same scene is repeated. The Hopi say that formerly the Katcinas would occasionally actually take a child with them, but that once a child died from fright, and since then they content themselves with frightening the children as described." (*The Oraibi Pawaamu Ceremony*, p. 118.)

performance. The *a'doshlē* proceeded to harangue the little boy, punctuating his sentences with thrusts at the child with his knife. The boy stood at a woman's side, but although he showed great fear in his eyes and in his tense little body he did not flinch as he answered *æ*, "yes," to each injunction. It was as self-restrained and as brave a little act as one might see. At the close of the *a'doshlē* harangue to the boy, the male head of the household took the little fellow out of doors and had him wash his face and hands in the snow. Meanwhile the girl covered her eyes with her hands and hid her head in the lap of the woman to whom she clung. When the *a'doshlē* approached her, the old woman made her look at him and answer despite her whimpering. All but the man visitor gathered in a circle, the *a'doshlē* a part of it, with his back to the center, *i. e.*, his back to the others. All prayed, and then beginning with the male household head sprinkled the head of the *a'doshlē* with meal. The little girl, but not the little boy, was lifted up to sprinkle him; a woman gave him a covered bundle which looked like rolls of bread¹ and he left the house.

In going through the village—before paying the visit I have described he went to the *ko'yemshi sha'lako* house to dance²—he would call out in his high-pitched voice and sweep back his long black locks with his knife. He would also stand still for a moment or two to make a sudden little run forward. Not only the children, but the older girls, girls of sixteen or eighteen, ran away from him or withdrew quickly indoors. I saw an old woman with a bevy of children and young women shutting themselves up in an outhouse as he approached.

In conclusion, one more function of the *a'doshlē* is to be noted. Sometimes he visits the adult in earnest as a kind of sergeant-at-arms. When a man fails to turn up in time at a fraternity gathering the *a'doshlē* is sent for him. In one case I heard of, for example,

¹ They usually give him meat, I was told.

² I followed him in. After dancing and calling out a few minutes he took off his mask. He was a middle-aged man. I noticed two or three boys watching him through the windows of this house. They must have recognized him of course. No attention was paid to me in either house, but I was not regarded as an intruder since I had been asked by one of my go-betweens what I wanted to see the *a'doshlē* do.

during one of the dances in which a member is supposed not to sleep the night out at home, my friend, prolonging in his house an early evening doze, was awakened by the even to him uncanny voice of the *a'doshlĚ* bidding him go to the assemblage where he was due, and straightway he went. "No man says 'no' to the *a'doshlĚ*."

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